1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Entering either from above or below one passes first through a belt of tilled ground: corn- and beanfields, each small plot separated from its neighbor by a wall made of heaped fragments of the abundant volcanic rubble. These are the *milpas;* by means of these little properties the villagers are fed, and to them their loyalties are bound.

The houses begin abruptly; they are set close beside the road; most are heavily shaded by trees. The streets are set with stones, rough hewn or placed just as they were found. Only near the *plaza* do the streets become wider, straighter, and smoother; those on the margins of the town are narrow and rough and often crooked. Most have steep grades; when this is so there is not a gradual gradient, but a series of alternating slants and levels. So the streets were laid out before the white men came. The method suggests the alternating stairways and platforms of the Indian *teocalli;* certainly it is adapted to a traffic made up solely of laden men and women; when the roads were first made there were no pack animals in Mexico. Today too the streets are very still; in them no wheel ever moves.

Tepoztlán was a *pueblo* of the Tlahuica, one of the Nahuatl-speaking tribes[1] that made up the last immigration south to the plateau region before the coming of the Spaniards. The ideograph of the town, an ax set in the sign for "mountain" or accompanied by

[1] Others were the Xochimilca, Chalca, Tepaneca, Acolhua, Tlaxcalteca, and Azteca.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

174 the symbol meaning "place of,"[1] is found in several of the ancient codices. The Codex Mendoza[2] lists Tepoztlán as one of the *pueblos* conquered by the Aztecs under the elder Montezuma. The Codex Aubin-Goupil[3] states that in 1487 new "kings" were installed in Cuauhnahuac, Tepoztlán, Huaxtepec, and Xilotepec. Cuauhnahuac was one of the first of the neighboring *pueblos* to be conquered by the Aztecs; this town, and presumably also Tepoztlán, became tributary to Tenochtitlan. The glyphs on the ruined *teocalli*,[4] situated [172] just above the town, contain the name of Ahuitzotl, Aztec war chief, and a date which has been correlated with modern chronology to read 1502 A.D.,[5] the last year of his tenure of office.

176 Some one of the many gods generally shared by the highland *pueblos* of Mexico was regarded as the special protector of each one of the villages. That deity particularly associated with Tepoztlán was Ome Tochtli ("Two Rabbit"), the god generally described as that of drunkenness,[6] but probably one also with genera-

[103] [1] *Tepoztli* in Nahuatl meant "ax" and "copper"—and after the coming of the Spaniards, also "iron." *Tlan* means "near," and is a common place-ending. Rebus fashion, it is written by the picture of the incisor teeth (*tlantli*). Early writings refer to the manufacture and trade in copper axes by the pre-Columbian Tepoztecans.

[2] Plate IX of the Kingsborough reproduction.

[3] So says Edward Seler, art., "Die Tempelpyramide von Tepoztlan," p. 124.

[4] *Novello, Guia para visitar las principales ruinas arqueologicas del estado de Morelos*, pp. 3–15.

[5] The year *Macuilli Tochtli* ("Ten Rabbit") (see Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 125).

[6] "This is an illustration of a grand debauch which a pueblo called Tepoztlán celebrates as a ceremony. The custom was that when any Indian dies drunk, the others of this pueblo held a grand ceremony, with axes of copper, which they use for cutting wood in their hands. This pueblo is part of Yautepec, and its in-

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

able with law, the legal title to these lands is held by an individual, but he holds in trust for the *santo*. His interest in the land is no greater than that of any other member of the *barrio*. The lands are sowed, tended, and harvested in common by the men of the *barrio*, under the direction of the *mayordomo* of the *santo*, and the crop, when sold, goes to the upkeep of the chapel—for candles, curtains for the altars, etc. Most of the lands so communally owned by the *barrios* are *milpas* on which maize is grown. But San Miguel also owns a grove of *chirimoyas*, and San Pedro owns a grove of cedars. (Cedar boughs, now as in pre-Columbian times, are much used in decorating altars and are subject to other religious and magical uses.) In addition, certain of the *barrios*, notably San Miguel, own bulls which are used for *toros*, a sort of rustic bullfight sometimes held on the occasion of the *fiesta* of the *santo*. During the rest of the year the bulls are loaned out to members of the *barrio* for upkeep.[1]

The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts[2] we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed,[3]

[1] The communal ownership of these bulls is not fully attested. During the year of the writer's stay San Miguel lent its bulls to Los Reyes at the time of the *fiesta* of the latter *barrio;* Los Reyes had none of its own, or too few.

[2] See T. T. Waterman, *Bandelier's Contribution to the Study of Ancient Mexican Social Organization.*

[3] *Ibid.* Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, p. 190, contra.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

based on kinship, but at the time of the Conquest, in Tenochtitlan at least, the kinship tie had largely disappeared, and the *calpolli* was a local unit. Each had its own god, religious structure, courts and judges, and military organization; and the members of each *calpolli* owned in common lands apart and distinct from the lands of the other *calpolli*.

With the destruction of the tribal organization following the Conquest, the military, political, and judicial functions of the *calpolli* fell into desuetude. But the social and religious functions, conflicting with none of the Spanish forms, and coinciding in some measure with the current Spanish notion of a church parish, continued in Tepoztlán, as no doubt in other *pueblos*, to this day. The *barrio* as a religious organization, the central religious building, the patron-god whose image is contained within it,[1] and elements in the accompanying ceremonial (e.g., the *teponaztli*, offering of flower garlands, *copal* incense, etc.) are survivals from pre-Columbian culture.

It is in the social and festal organization of the community that the *barrio* maintains its importance. Even when there is no *fiesta* the chapel serves as a sort of social center for the *barrio;* the water tank is generally there and near it people congregate to gossip. Some of the *barrios* have purchased gasoline

[1] In the commentary to the Codex Magliabecchi, sec. 62, it is stated: "Each barrio has another idol. They say it was he who guarded the barrio. To him they run with their petitions in times of necessity. On the day on which the festival of this idol falls, the people of the barrio offer him solemnities. The other barrios do not." This is precisely the situation in Tepoztlán today.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

CHAPTER XII

THE FOLK IN A CITY WORLD

In Mexico, as in European countries with more or less illiterate peasant populations, the sharpest cultural differences are not between one region and another but between the city people and the country people. This difference is, of course, even greater in those Latin-American countries where the city people derive their traditions from, and continue to communicate with, the European world, while the country people are largely Indian in tradition and do not easily communicate with the city. It is a circumstance of importance that the same classes, based upon the degree of familiarity with city ways, exist, on a much smaller scale, in Tepoztlán. They have already been several times referred to in these pages as *los correctos* and *los tontos*. The periodic revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby this difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked.

It is probable that these classes have existed for centuries in Tepoztlán. Tradition says that Martin Cortés, son of the conqueror, lived for a time in Tepoztlán and used the chapel of La Santísima as his private oratory. Certain heavy stone walls and ruined arches across the street from this chapel are pointed out as the vestiges of his residence. When he and his

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

dependents came there, they must at once have constituted an aristocracy of Spanish culture. This must have been but one of a series of periods of development and partial sophistication that were successively interrupted by periods of disorder. There are other fragments of heavy wall at the north side of the town; all memories of their meaning have apparently disappeared. The latest of these eras of order and urbanization was coincident with the Díaz régime. In the middle of the nineteenth century a family of educated people moved to Tepoztlán from another state. This family contributed the priest, a teacher, and several other members of the Tepoztecan intelligentsia. During this period the first secular school was opened. Several attempts were made to publish local newspapers.[1] In 1895 Francisco Rodriguez, a Tepoztecan who was educated as an engineer, called the attention of the scientific world to the large pre-Columbian temple situated above the town, and reported upon it to the International Congress of Americanists.[2] The work of excavation was done largely by Tepoztecan volunteers. A museum was established in

[1] "More than a half a century ago, nevertheless, literary productions were published in Tepoztlán; nevertheless, the press has hardly been introduced to the population. We remember, for example, 'El Xocoyotzin' of Don José Guadalupe Rojas,—a man never well understood,—a small periodical which was devoted to adult and infant education. A little later, with the introduction of a press in 1882, appeared in the public light 'El Liliputiense,' 'El Mosquito,' 'El Grano de Arena' and still others which were devoted to the development of culture and the illumination of the people" (*El Tepozteco*, a newspaper published by Tepoztecos in Mexico City in 1921, issue of October 1).

[2] F. Rodriguez, art., "Descripción de la pyramide llamada Casa del Tepozteco. . . . ."

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

machines, a modern highway and buses, clocks, poolrooms, patent medicines, powdered milk, a few battery radios, and one or two automobiles. The existence of these old and new traits, and the varying degree in which they are combined from family to family, makes for cultural complexity and heterogeneity in Tepoztlán.

Tepoztlán, like Mexico, has had a long and complicated history of mingling of peoples and cultures, and has never been a truly isolated village. The marginal position of Tepoztlán between the high plateau area to the north and the lower valleys of the south, as well as its proximity to the major roads of travel, has subjected it since pre-Hispanic times to influences from many areas.[26] Tepoztlán has been inhabited continuously since early archaic horizons, and the various ceramic levels unearthed in the village show a variety of influences which include Olmec, Toltec, and Aztec.[27] In the more recent pre-Hispanic times it was a center of religious pilgrimages, some of which came from distant Chiapas and Guatemala, and the fame of El Tepozteco, the legendary culture hero of the village, seems to have been known far and wide.

Since the Spanish Conquest the village of Tepoztlán has had even more contact with the outside and, in fact, has been closer to the main stream of national life. The great scenic beauty of Tepoztlán and its proximity to Mexico City and Cuernavaca, two key political and administrative centers, have played an important part in the history of Tepoztlán. Martín Cortés, the son of Hernán Cortés, and members of the Cortés family over a few generations, lived in the village in the present-day barrio of La Santísima. The barrio chapel was reputedly built by Martín Cortés just opposite his house so that he could hear morning Mass without going to church. The forced labor of the Tepoztecans in the mines of Taxco and in the neighboring haciendas of the Marqués del Valle, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, brought Tepoztecans into contact with Negro slaves

---

[26] Edgar Anderson's study of Tepoztecan corn (see Appendix A, p. 449) also shows the marginal position of Tepoztlán.

[27] In the thirteenth century, the nearby towns of Chalco, Amecameca, and portions of Morelos were inhabited by the Olmecs, who were a Popoloco-Mixteca group. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno suggests that some of these Olmecs were later Nahuatlized. It is perhaps significant that to this day Tepoztecans make religious pilgrimages to both Chalco and Amecameca. Undoubtedly Tepoztecans had frequent contacts with both towns prior to the Conquest. Shortly after the fall of the Toltec empire some of the dispersed Toltec groups fled to Cholula which was an Olmec center.

Jiménez Moreno has suggested that the pre-Hispanic history of Mexico might be divided into two great periods. In the first, the coastal or Olmec influence predominated and in the second, the plateau predominated, particularly after the founding of Tula. The valley of Morelos seems from the earliest times to have been a meeting place for both the eastern and northern influence and its culture therefore represents a synthesis of both. As evidence of eastern influence in Tepoztlán, Jiménez points to the square shields of El Tepozteco, clearly not a highland trait. Square shields are an Olmec trait and are also shown in relief work in the room of the ball courts in Chichen Itzá. Furthermore, the ax shown in the figure of Ometochtli is called *iiztopolli*, which is like the Olmec *macteputzili* shown in the Olmec codices. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, "El Enigma de los Olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, Vol. V, No. 5 (Sept.–Oct., 1942), pp. 122-25.

For ceramic evidence on this point, see the work of Florencia Muller, *Chimalacatlan*, *Acta Antropológica*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March, 1948).

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of Cortés in Cuernavaca and on nearby haciendas. This is suggested by the local physical type as well as by local lore. There is a tradition in the village that Negro slaves from Cuernavaca worked as day laborers in the construction of the church. It is said that a Negro lies buried in each of the pillars of the church and that is the reason why the church is so strong.[28]

The village of Tepoztlán well illustrates the Mexican pattern of the domination of the center over the periphery. Since the sixteenth century, Tepoztlán, as the principal village, has dominated the surrounding villages politically, economically, and socially. Tepoztecans today feel superior to the people of the outlying villages, and, by and large, have superior educational facilities, better means of communication, and a higher standard of living. Going from Tepoztlán, the center, to the smaller surrounding villages of the municipio, we find a greater persistence of older customs, less literacy, and more people who speak only Náhuatl.

Tepoztecans, at various times in the history of the village, have achieved positions of prominence in many fields and have had personal contacts with men in the highest political circles of the state of Morelos and the nation. Many young men have left Tepoztlán, especially in the middle of the last century, to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and priests. Tepoztlán boasts of having produced, within the last fifty years, two governors of the state of Morelos, three justices to the state court, a state senator, and more than half a dozen deputies to the state legislature. Many of these men have kept in touch with their relatives in the village and have been a constant stimulus for culture change.

One of the early Tepoztecans to become a distinguished figure and an important influence in the village was Professor Mariano Jacobo Rojas, who was born in Tepoztlán in 1842. This schoolteacher became a champion of bilingual education

[28] I am indebted to Dr. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán for calling to my attention a number of seventeenth-century documents, which indicate the presence of Negroes and mulattoes in Tepoztlán. These documents also show that the Inquisition prosecuted the Negroes for taking *peyote* and for their practices of magic and divination. The following declaration of the Negress Louisa, made available to me by Aguirre Beltrán, is typical: "Asked if she knew or presumed the reason for her being called before the board of Inquisition she said that she presumed that it was to learn what she knew about magic performed by a Negro called Domingo Angola who had fled from the jurisdiction of Zacatecas, and that she, having fled from her master, went to the village of Temimilcingo in the jurisdiction of Cuauhnahuac and there ran across him and was in his company for three months since last July; and in this time she saw many times this Negro Domingo talk to some little sticks or dolls dressed as men and others as women, and the sticks talked to him in the presence of everyone; and we heard that they were speaking in Spanish and in the Congo language and they did no less than dance the dances of both nations and sang songs of both nations, clearly and distinctly, so that all of us heard them; and the dolls asked for food; and food was carried to where they were, and after a little while they said; we have eaten, now you eat; and when it was time to steal they said, go it is time [propitious] to steal now, and when it was not time, and they were asked, they would say, now is not time. This darkie Moreno also had two snakes, one of which he took with him when he was going to steal, and the other was left in the house to guard the clothing and the Negro women. And once when I wanted to flee, the snake grabbed out for my foot and bit me as you can see by the mark it has left (which mark she showed us near the heel bone); and this witness continued to say that the other snake which he took along when he went to steal was of the same size and color as the one at home, about half a *vara* long and of two colors, yellow and black, and she heard say that the snake silenced them (the victims of the robbery?)."

From Archivo General de la Nación, Section on Inquisición, 486.254 (Tepoztlán, 1621). (Courtesy of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán.)

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

occasions when groups of angry residents, headed by a political leader, have broken into houses to cut off the private water supply that was draining the public one.

THE BARRIOS

The village is divided into seven barrios or named locality groupings, each with its own church, patron saint, and internal religious organization.[9] (See Fig. 15.) The barrios of today are essentially religious organizations, but also have important social functions. Redfield believed the barrios were pre-Hispanic survivals of the ancient *calpulli*, an interpretation to be questioned in the light of our data. He wrote:

> The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it

Fig. 15. The barrios of Tepoztlán.

> appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed, based on kinship, but at the time of the Conquest, in Tenochtitlan at least, the kinship tie had largely disappeared, and the *calpolli* was a local unit. Each had its own god, religious structure, courts and judges, and military organization; and the members of each *calpolli* owned in common lands apart and distinct from the lands of the other *calpolli*.
>
> With the destruction of the tribal organization following the Conquest, the military,

[9] In the following pages I have listed *eight* barrios rather than *seven*, because families on twenty-nine house sites in the barrio of Santo Domingo think of themselves as a separate unit owing allegiance to the barrio of Santa Cruz. I have therefore treated these twenty-nine house sites as a separate unit and have referred to them as Santa Cruz (small) in distinction to Santa Cruz (large), since Santa Cruz is the barrio to which they pay taxes.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

political, and judicial functions of the *calpolli* fell into desuetude. But the social and religious functions, conflicting with none of the Spanish forms, and coinciding in some measure with the current Spanish notion of a church parish, continued in Tepoztlán, as no doubt in other *pueblos*, to this day.[9]

The evidence cited by Redfield in support of this speculation is a portion of a recitation in Náhuatl which reads, "Here I am surrounded by my four mountains, seven hills, seven wells and seven stony hillsides." From this Redfield concludes, "This is clearly a reference, in topographic terms, to the *barrios*."[11] This interpretation is not acceptable, since the seven barrios are not each associated with a stony hillside. Nor does each barrio have its own well.

While there can be no doubt that the village is pre-Hispanic, I believe that the present-day layout with its barrio divisions is almost certainly post-Conquest. This conclusion is based primarily upon an analysis of sixteenth-century documents in which the seven barrios are not mentioned, and is partially confirmed by local tradition and some recent archaeological work. These sources suggest that before the Spanish Conquest the village was much more spread out, with numerous small population clusters settled along the valley near the *cerros* where there was an adequate water supply. In a document of 1580,[12] we find that the seat of the village was at a site called *Tetlán*, a site which is known today as being outside of the village limits, to the west. When the road to Cuernavaca was being built in 1935 and 1936, ceramic deposits and other evidence of habitation were unearthed at this spot. In the map (Fig. 16), I have located a number of sites which show some evidence of having been inhabited and which are believed to be pre-Hispanic settlement sites. Some of these sites are mentioned in a document of 1550 which gives the *sitios* and *estancias* which paid tribute to Tepoztlán. I have identified many of these house site names within the village today, but others are known only as the names of sites out in the fields and near the *cerros* as shown in Fig. 16. Still others could not be identified at all.

On the basis of this evidence, it is suggested that the Spaniards brought together the population clusters from the outlying settlements to control the people and to facilitate taxation.[13] That this was a general Spanish policy is clear from other sources.[14] A few informants felt certain that this is what had happened in

[9] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 76–77.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[12] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Relación de la Villa de Tepuztlan* in *Papeles de Nueva España*, Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística, Tomo VI (Madrid, 1905), p. 244—this valuable document will be referred to as *Relación* in the pages that follow. It is one of our best sources for the culture of Tepoztlán prior to the Spanish Conquest. It was prepared in 1580 by village officials with the aid of Tepoztecan informants, in response to a questionnaire sent out to all villagers of New Spain by Philip II.

[13] In a document—*Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100—dated March 2, 1551, we find a complaint, made by an investigator sent to Tepoztlán by the *corregidor*, to the effect that there were still some outlying "barrios" not listed in the Tepoztlán census. It was explained that this was done by the natives to cheat the government of taxes.

[14] See Dan Stanislowski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review*, 37 (1947), 94-105.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

174
361
621
[172]

a. Tepoztlan	1. PYRAMID OF TEPOSTEKO	9. KOSKATSINKO
b. Cementerio	2. TLAKWAPA	10. TEKWESKONTITLA
c. Izcatepec	3. AXITLA	11. MEETSTITLA
d. Tlawiltepetl	4. MAKPALOSTOK	12. TEXKATSO
e. Ocelotsin	5. TENECHKALKO	13. TLAXOMOLKO
f. Chachiltepetl	6. TLATLAKAPA	14. TEMASATITLA
	7. TEXOHKO	15. ACHICHIPIKO
	8. TEOPANSOLKO	16. MESOHKILA

Fig. 16. Possible sites of pre-Hispanic settlements.

Tepoztlán and suggested some of the settlement sites from which the present-day barrios were formed.

The *Relación* describes the village in some detail and gives the names and legends associated with each of the villages of the municipio, but it says nothing of barrios within the village itself. In fact none of the sixteenth-century documents mention the present-day barrios. However, in a document of 1579 [15] there is mention of four barrios of Tepoztlán: Atenco, Teycapan, Olac, and Pochitlán. These are listed as separate from the "capital" or Tepoztlán proper, suggesting that they were settlements outside of the village which were later incorporated into the village.[16] Atenco is identified by informants as the present-day barrio of Santo Domingo. The other barrios could not be identified by our informants but they are mentioned repeatedly in the early documents, appearing for the first time in a document dated 1551.[17]

[15] *Indios*, Vol. 1, Exp. 251.

[16] This interpretation is also suggested by documents which make it clear that the term "barrio" was used to designate a settlement outside of the village which did not have independent status. For the latter they used "estancia." A plaque in the church of the outlying village of Izcatepec tells that the village was a "barrio" of Tepoztlán until 1732 when the church was built and an independent community established.

[17] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100. The fact that *four* barrios are mentioned is particularly significant, for it agrees with the account of Durán and other chroniclers who describe the early Nahua tribes as being divided into four units. The four barrios, rather than the present-day barrios, may well have been the ancient *calpulli*.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The first mention of some of the present-day barrios is found in a document of 1807, which is a census of the villages by barrios and by house sites within each barrio.[18] The fact that the barrios of San Sebastián and San Pedro are not mentioned suggests that these two are the most recent additions. This is also in accord with a vague local tradition. Unfortunately the barrio chapels do not carry any dates. The census of 1807 is especially useful in that it gives the names of the house sites in Náhuatl and thereby makes possible a comparison of the house sites with those found today, since they are still known by the same names. The remarkable discovery that results from such a comparison is that the barrio boundaries have not changed much in the past 150 years. The major difference is that the present-day house sites are much smaller, probably reflecting the process of division by inheritance. From all of the foregoing it seems probable that the present-day barrios, with their churches, were built up gradually during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that two of the barrio chapels were built in the nineteenth century.

During the colonial period the barrio must have been an extremely important unit in the social organization of the village, since it served both as a politico-administrative unit as well as a religious unit. From the document of 1579, we learn that each barrio had its own *tequitlatos* (officials who spoke for the barrio) and *alguaciles*. It is possible that the *tequitlatos* were leaders of labor groups who were recruited in the *repartimiento* system on a barrio basis. Before the separation of church and state, the assignment of the village *cuatequitl* must have been done on a barrio basis. The barrio lost some of its functions after the time of Juárez when the village was divided up into eight *demarcaciones* (political wards), each with a delegate responsible to the local government. The *demarcaciones* cut across barrios. Since that time the *demarcación* rather than the barrio is used in organizing local census data, in assigning labor tasks for the village *cuatequitl*, in making public announcements, and in organizing elections. But despite the loss of some of its functions, the barrio continues to have great religious and social importance. The barrio is considered as an old and native institution, the *demarcación* as something imposed from the outside. Any school child knows his barrio, but very few adults or children know what *demarcación* they belong to.

The barrio names and the number of house sites by barrio are shown in the following:

TABLE 3. Number of Barrios and House Sites, 1944.

Barrio	House Sites
Santo Domingo	174
San Miguel	163
La Santísima	139
Santa Cruz (large)	67
Los Reyes	37
San Sebastián	34
Santa Cruz (small)	29
San Pedro	19
Total	662

[18] *Ibid.*, Leg. 356, Exp. 8.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

433 But despite this roster of familiar traits, the Tepoztecan economic system is quite distinctive and defies easy classification in terms of our traditional categories, such as capitalistic or feudal. For side by side with the above traits are less familiar ones such as communal land-ownership, collective labor, hoe culture, production primarily for subsistence, barter, the absence of credit institutions, the lack of capital, the fear of displaying wealth, and the continued importance of religion and ritual in economic pursuits.

● 174 433 A complicating factor, and in terms of our own society a differentiating one, is that the Tepoztecan economy and technology represent a fusion of elements from three distinct historical levels: the pre-Hispanic, the Spanish colonial, and the modern western European. Furthermore, it is not always possible to ascertain with assurance which trait belongs to which level. While some traits are found in both the pre-Hispanic and post-Conquest periods, the function and meaning of the trait would seem to have been so different in the total economies of these distinct periods that equating the two is hardly justified. For example, while private property in land may have existed before the Conquest, it is questionable whether it was widespread or played the same role in the total economy and in the aspirations of the people that it does today. And though wealth differences undoubtedly existed at that time, the criteria of wealth as well as its distribution were probably very different from the present. Also, while the market system is probably pre-Hispanic there is a world of difference between the present-day market, which reflects international price changes, and the more localized pre-Hispanic markets.

PRE-CONQUEST AND SPANISH-COLONIAL ECONOMY

172 433 Specific data on the pre-Conquest economics of Tepoztlán are quite limited. The archeological evidence indicates the presence of potsherds from distant areas of Mexico and would therefore suggest wide trading contacts.

Archaeological research carried out in Tepoztlán in 1942-43 by Miss Florencia Muller revealed six ceramic levels and indicated similarities in ceramics with southern Morelos, Vera Cruz, Teotihuacan, Monte Alban, and points even farther south.[1]

175 433 The *Relación* suggests that Tepoztlán was a stratified society of nobles and commoners, not unlike Aztec society, with class differences affecting diet, clothing, marriage customs, and other aspects of life. It also contains scattered references which give us some idea of local foods, industries, and other economic pursuits. The following excerpts contain the pertinent data.

> . . . and they had wars with those of the town of *Capihtlan* and of the town of *Cuauhunava,* and they fought with their feathered weapons and beneath their *escuahupiles* of quilted cotton, and the garments of feathers, some like lions and others like tigers, and others like birds, with their wide wooden sabres, like swords, and the blades were of flint that they might cut, and their bucklers of feathers and others with their bows and

[1] I am grateful to Miss Muller for the summary of her findings; see Appendix B, p. 453.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

After the harvest many Tepoztecans leave for the haciendas, returning to the village and their families only once a week. Those who prefer to remain at home spend their time in making charcoal, cutting wood, making rope, or taking up one of the many part-time occupations available.

BY OCCUPATION

Tepoztlán is a community of peasants, merchants, and artisans, but it is essentially agricultural, and over ninety per cent of the gainfully employed are farmers. The occupation of farming has high status in the village, and the young men look forward to being farmers. Farming is not the sole occupation, but is combined in various ways with other gainful activities.

There are at least twenty-six non-agricultural occupations in Tepoztlán, with a total of 273 individuals engaged in them. The largest groups include storekeepers (20), teachers (21), masons (25), bakers (23), *curanderos* and midwives (28), and ropemakers (42). The next largest group consists of butchers (15), barbers (15), corn merchants (13), charcoal makers (13), tile and brickmakers (12), and employees of the bus line (17). In addition there are shoemakers (5), carpenters (9), ironworkers (3), *chirimiteros*[1] (6), *huehuechiques*[2] (2), fireworks makers (6), mask makers (6), *mágicos* (1), silver workers (2), millers (3), druggists (2), chauffeurs (6), and plumbers (2). (See Table 19.)

It should be noted that 186 individuals, or 68 per cent of the 273 engaged in the above occupations, own their own milpas. This incidence of land-ownership is nearly twice the incidence of land-ownership in the village as a whole, and indicates that the artisans and those with special occupations tend to be in a better economic position. Most of the artisans and merchants fall into the middle economic group of the village.[3]

Fifty-three of the 273 individuals engaged in these occupations are women, who are found in only six of the twenty-six occupations and are distributed as follows: storekeepers (5), teachers (10), butchers (4), bakers (2), *curanderos* and midwives (23), corn merchants (9). It can be seen that women predominate in teaching, curing, and as corn merchants. However, in the latter they are the smaller operators. Also, the few men who engage in curing enjoy greater prestige than the women in this field.

The occupations listed above represent a peculiar mixture of the old and new. Some, like the *chirimiteros, huehuechiques, curanderos,* masons, mask makers, charcoal makers, and ropemakers, probably had their counterpart in pre Hispanic days. Others, such as storekeepers, shoemakers, and carpenters, have probably existed in the village since the colonial period. Still others, such as the teachers, bakers,

---

[1] The men who play the traditional music on the chapel roofs at fiestas in celebration of the saints. They use a primitive wind instrument called the *chirimía.*

[2] The men who know the traditional Náhuatl words and ritual in the ceremonies which form part of the fiestas for the saints.

[3] See Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 173.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

463

TABLE 19. Occupations, 1926 and 1944.

Occupations	Total in 1926 (Redfield)	1944					
		Total	Men	Women	No. Owning Milpas	No. Working in Milpas	No. with Additional Occupations
Storekeepers	5	20	15	5	15	6	4
Teachers	2	21	11	10	12	4	..
Butchers	3	15	11	4	9	7	1
Shoemakers	2	5	5	..	2	3	1
Carpenters	3	9	9	..	7	8	2
Masons	4	25	25	..	18	24	5
Ironworkers	2	3	3	..	3	3	1
Bakers	6	23	21	2	11	18	2
Barbers	5	15	15	..	11	14	4
Curanderos and midwives	23	28	5	23	14	4	1
Chirimiteros	3	6	6	..	6	6	3
Huehuechiques	2	2	2	..	2	2	1
Fireworks makers	2	6	6	..	5	6	1
Mask makers	3	6	6	..	5	6	4
Mágicos	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Corn merchants	2	13	4	9	9	2	..
Silver workers	..	2	2	..	1	1	..
Ropemakers	..	42	42	..	39	41	9
Charcoal makers	..	13	13	..	9	9	2
Millers	..	3	3	..	3	1	..
Tile and brickmakers	..	12	12	..	9	12	..
Druggists	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Chauffeurs	..	6	6	..	3	..	..
Plumbers	..	2	2	..	2	..	..
Bus line employees	..	17	17	..	12	11	..
Candlemakers[a]							
Total[b]	69	273	220	53	186	160	23

[388]

[a] Redfield did not give figures for the occupation of candlemaker. In 1949 there was only one candlemaker, who had a limited local trade. Most of the candles used in the village are made in Cuernavaca. Upon the death of the now aged candlemaker, this occupation will probably disappear in Tepoztlán.

[b] These totals, except Redfield's column, have been corrected for duplications of occupations. Twenty-three individuals have more than one profession so that the same individual may appear as ropemaker, charcoal maker, etc. Because we lacked the necessary data on overlapping of the occupations listed by Redfield, we could not arrive at an accurate number of individuals, although it was most certainly less than 69.

[174] millers, barbers, druggists, chauffeurs, and bus employees, are more clearly modern, and most of them date from the time of the construction of the road in 1936.

[491] One of the most important trends in the village during the past twenty years has been an expansion in the number of occupations and an increase in specialization. There are two kinds of specialists in the village, full-time and part-time. Among the latter are (1) specialists who divide their time between two or more occupations, and (2) specialists who divide their time between their specialty and farming. Still another distinction can be made within both of the above categories,

[178]

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

656
646

Permits to utilize municipal resources: to cut wood, pasture animals, and gather stones
Requests for certifications of birth, death, and marriage
Requests to register brands on cattle
Requests for marriage licenses
Permits to repair streets
Requests for *ejido* plots
Permits to pipe water to a house from the main line
Permits to dynamite rock

646
692
[691]

In addition to these routine functions, the local government, through the office of the *juez menor*, hears many complaints and quarrels. Complaints are usually first presented to the president, and he attempts to resolve the difficulty without recourse to the judge. The complaints most frequently heard by the president are given in the order of their frequency of occurrence.

Quarrels between neighbors about family matters
Litigations between neighbors over property matters
Quarrels due to drunkenness
Quarrels between neighbors over animals
Quarrels between husbands and wives
Quarrels because of damages caused by animals
Cases involving accusations of stealing of animals
Cases involving assault
Cases involving calumny
Charges of immorality
Fraud
Infanticide

[847]

[681]

When the quarrel cannot be settled by the president, it is passed on to the local judge, and occasionally Tepoztecans are jailed. An analysis of the records of the local justice for 1920, 1927, 1935, 1941, 1942, and 1943 revealed the types and frequency of cases shown in Table 53.

674

The thing to be noted about these data is the relatively high incidence of crime. An analysis of the relative frequency of each type of case shows that five offenses—robbery, lesions and blows, injuries and threats, calumny or defamation, and damages—account for 73 per cent of the 808 cases recorded. It must be remembered that these data are only for reported cases. A large number of cases never reach the judge.

174

POLITICAL HISTORY

As has been noted earlier, recent archaeological work in Tepoztlán shows a continued occupation of some sites since the Archaic period.[7] This would place the age of these sites at about the time of Christ. The early ceramic horizons show eastern and southern influences, and the later horizons show northern influences from

[7] Muller, *Chimalacatlan*, p. 55. See also Appendix B, p. 453.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

TABLE 53. Criminal Offenses, During Six Selected Years. 674

Criminal Offense	1920	1927	1935	1941	1942	1945	Total
Robbery	9	20	11	14	18	14	86
Homicide	3	2	1	2	2		10
Lesions and blows	17	44	38	39	20	34	192
Fraud	2	3	..	1	1	3	10
Rape (or elopement)	2	2	2	2	3	2	13
Injuries and threats	3	31	45	26	40	55	200
Breaking into a house	3	16	13	6	9	10	57
Abuse of authority	..	1	..	1	1	2	5
Trespass	..	3	..	7	5	2	17
Calumny or defamation	..	8	12	13	10	17	60
[illegible]mages	..	17	12	11	8	12	60
[illegible]nder or spoilation	1	3	5	4	..	8	21
Adultery	1	6	2	2	2	1	14
Seduction	2	5	3	3	..	..	13
Violation (sexual)	..	5	1	1	..	..	7
Arson	..	2	1	..	..	1	4
Assault	..	..	3	1	2	5	11
Abandonment	..	2	4	9	3	..	18
Scandal	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
Aggression	..	1	1	..	2	..	4
Helping a criminal	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Falsification of documents	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Bigamy	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Kidnapping	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Total	43	175	154	144	126	166	808

[839] [837] [588]

Teotihuacán and also from Cholula. This agrees in a general way with the historical reconstructions based on the early chroniclers for this area. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno has suggested[8] that Tepoztlán was probably one of the places settled by the earliest Nahua invaders who entered the Morelos region from Guerrero and the southeast, perhaps in the seventh century, after having come from the north. According to Orozco y Berra, the early Toltecs passed through Cuauhnahuac or Cuernavaca in VIII Acatl or 603 A.D.[9] However, more recent historians place the earliest recorded invasion of the present region of Morelos in the tenth century. 174

Mixcoatl, the founder of the Toltec Empire, invaded the valley of Mexico about 900 A.D. and the valley of Morelos in 902 A.D.[10] Mixcoatl led a Nahua horde which came into contact with the Mazahua-Otomies with whom they mixed. According to Jiménez Moreno, Mixcoatl had a son by a Tepoztecan woman. This son, Ce Acatl Topiltzin, was born in the year 935 A.D. by the Mixteco calendar, or 947 A.D. by the Nahua calendar, the same year that his father, Mixcoatl, was assassinated by paternal relatives who were Chichimeca. Jiménez Moreno identifies Topiltzin as

[8] In personal communications to the writer.

[9] Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia Antigua de la Conquista de México*, 3 (Mexico City, 1880), 24.

[10] Florencia Muller, *La Historia Vieja del Estado de Morelos*. (Unpublished thesis, p. 151.) See also, Alberto Ruz Lhuillier, *Guía Arqueológica de Tula* (Mexico, 1945), p. 12. Introduction by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

174 the legendary hero, Tepoztecatl, who fought against Zochicalco and then adopted the worship of the god Quetzalcoatl. Topiltzin then went north to avenge the death of his father. It was he who transferred the Toltec capital from Colhuacan to Tula.[11] The Toltecs held power until 1168 when their ruler Huemac was defeated. But Toltec groups continued on, and not until their defeat by the Chichimecas in 1246 was the Toltec empire smashed.[12] In 1296 the conquest of the valley of Morelos by the Chichimecas began.

From the fall of the Toltec Empire until 1437 we have no references to Tepoztlán. In historical references to the first Aztec domination of the valley of Morelos by Acamapichtli in 1375, Cuauhnahuac, Mazatepec, Xochitepec, Zacatepec, Xiuteper, and Çhiautla are mentioned as conquered towns, but not Tepoztlán.[13] Since Tepoztlán was still an independent seigniory at the time, this seems significant. Oaxtepec which continued to be inhabited by Xochimilca was also not conquered.[14] Again in 1386 when the peoples of what is now Morelos joined against the Matlazincas, Tepoztlán is not mentioned. Similarly, in the second Aztec invasion of the valley of Morelos by Huitzilhuitl, there is no reference to Tepoztlán in the list of conquered tribes.[15] The first notice of the Aztec domination of Tepoztlán is in 1437 when Moctezuma Ilhuicamina took Oaxtepec, Yautepec, Tepoztlán, Yecapixtla, and Totolapa.[16]

The Codex Aubin-Goupil tells that in 1487 new "kings" were installed in Cuauhnahuac, Tepoztlán, Huaxtepec, and Xilotepec.[17] Finally, the glyphs on the ruined temple just above the village shows the name of Ahuitzotl, an Aztec war chief, who ruled about 1502.[18]

From the above data it appears that by the time of the Spanish Conquest, Tepoztlán had been subject to Aztec domination for less than one hundred years.[19] It was

[11] Muller, *La Historia Vieja*, p. 155; and Jiménez Moreno in Lhuillier's *Guía Arqueológica*, p. 14.
[12] Jiménez Moreno, in Lhuillier's *Guía Arqueológica*, p. 14.
[13] Muller, *La Historia Vieja*, p. 168.
[14] Fernando de Alva Ixtlixochitl, *Obras Históricas*, I (Mexico, 1891), 141.
[15] Muller, *La Historia Vieja*, p. 167.
[16] *Ibid*, p. 168; see also Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 23.
[17] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 24. He bases this on Edward Seler's statement in his article, "Die Tempelpyramide von Tepoztlán," *Globus*, LXXIII, No. 8 (Feb., 1898), 123-29.
[18] *Ibid*.
[19] Redfield, probably following Plancarte, identified the Tepoztecans at the time of the Conquest as members of the Tlahuica, one of the seven tribes which invaded the valley of Mexico and Morelos. The other tribes were the Xochimilca, Chalca, Tepaneca, Acolhua, Tlaxcalteca, and Azteca. Redfield wrote, "Tepoztlán was a *pueblo* of the Tlahuica, one of the last Náhuatl speaking tribes that made up the last immigration south to the plateau region before the coming of the Spaniards." *Ibid*., p. 23. This would make Tepoztecans relatively recent residents of Morelos and does not agree with other data. It should be noted that the Dominican Padre Durán lists Tepoztlán as one of the Xochimilca tribes and he places the Xochimilca as the first Nahua group to enter the valley of Mexico and later spill over into Morelos. (Fray Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y las Islas de Tierra Firme*, I (Mexico, 1867), 9-11.) According to Durán the Xochimilcas entered the valley of Mexico a few hundred years before the Tlahuicas. This identification of Tepoztlán with the Xochimilcas would perhaps be more consistent with the tradition of the constant warfare between Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca, since the latter was clearly of Tlahuica affiliation.

[114]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

probably a semi-autonomous seigniory and occupied a position on a par with Cuernavaca, Yautepec, Xiutepec, Yecapixtla and Hauxtepec. However, under the later Moctezuma, Tepoztlán was for administrative purposes part of the district of Huaxtepec.

Tepoztlán submitted to the conquering troops of Cortés in 1521. Cortés passed through Tepoztlán on his way to Cuernavaca from Yautepec. He set fire to half the town because some Yautepec chieftains who were seeking refuge in the town would not give themselves up. Cortés and his troops stayed in Tepoztlán for only a day. Bernal Díaz del Castillo wrote of this, "There we found many pretty women and much loot."[20] Later, by decree of June 6, 1529, Tepoztlán was one of the four villas granted to Cortés and became part of the Marquesado del Valle de Oaxaca. When Cortés decided to make Cuernavaca the capital of his large estate, Tepoztlán became subject to the corregidor of Cuernavaca. The Spanish Conquest resulted in a marked change in the relative status of the former towns of this area, with Cuernavaca overshadowing Tepoztlán. This change probably began earlier, immediately after the Aztec conquest of Cuernavaca.

Information on political life and local government during the colonial period is scant. We know that the Spanish administrative machinery was set up in Tepoztlán very soon after the Conquest, probably about 1535, and that Tepoztlán was subject to the corregidor of Cuernavaca and the entire administrative machinery of the *audiencia* and the *repartimiento* system. In government as in other aspects of the culture, we find the tendency for the village to change slowly and in one way or another to modify rather than discard its pre-Conquest institutions. In documents of 1551,[21] the earliest one available for Tepoztlán, the major officials enumerated are the *gobernador*, three *alcaldes*, two *principales*, *tequitlatos*, and *calpisques*. The latter three terms undoubtedly refer to officials who held some office in the pre-Conquest administrative organization of the village. The *tequitlatos* were probably those who supervised field work; and the *calpisques* were the tax collectors.

The next significant document is for 1575,[22] eight years after the Crown had taken over the Marquesado del Valle, including Tepoztlán. This document gives the more important officials and the salaries paid to them in pesos, as follows:

1 *gobernador*	50
2 *alcaldes*	30
6 *regidores*	55
2 *mayordomos*	20

Here we find a total of eleven officials receiving 155 pesos annually. In addition, a maximum of fifty persons were employed as church singers, cooks, gardeners, laborers, and stone cutters, at a rate of two pesos each, totaling one hundred pesos a year.

[20] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, as quoted in Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 26.
[21] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, No. 100.
[22] *Indios*, Vol. 1, Exp. 31.